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piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untä* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear

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Chapter V

LAW, FEUDING, AND WAR

I was born to die fighting. 538

Jívaro saying

On an abstract level, there is near unanimity among the interior Jívaro as to what is correct, normative social behavior. In any specific case, however, there is usually radical disagreement as to whether a particular anti-social act was justified as a punitive sanction in reprisal for some past offense, or whether it was, in fact, an unjustified act which itself deserves the application of retaliatory punitive sanctions. This situation, of course, is quite understandable in a society where there is no state, no chiefdom, no corporate kin groups, and, really, no locus of authority which can impose judicial decisions and enforce them. 626 183

An additional factor of no minor significance is that a high proportion of persons who have been accused of hostile acts probably did not commit them at all, but there is no way of satisfactorily demonstrating their "guilt" or "innocence." This situation is primarily due to the tremendous emphasis among the Jívaro on ascribing almost all non-epidemic illnesses and deaths, and non-violent deaths, to witchcraft and poisoning. The fundamental assumption, not surprising in the absence of modern medical knowledge and in the presence of the tensions previously discussed, is that bewitching shamans are continually attacking one's person and family. This leads, in the cases of assumed witchcraft death, to punitive retaliatory sanctions, in the form of homicide, against the presumed 754 682 626

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626 754 682 [276] [787] [628] [721] bewitchers. With the guilt determined through divination with the aid of a hallucinogenic drug, and the subsequent vengeance probably wreaked on the wrong person (even if one believes in witchcraft deaths), it is clear that the shamanistic beliefs and practices have repercussions which heighten the sense of outrage and injustice that permeates the society and sets household against household. Under these circumstances, Jívaro witchcraft clearly promotes rather than decreases physical violence.

626 [682] [278] Although not believed by the Jívaro to be quite as pervasive an activity as bewitching, assumed poisoning in beer or in food likewise engenders retaliatory action through physical violence, even though, as in the case of witchcraft, the person believed to be guilty is, more likely than not, probably innocent. Under these conditions, then, the relatively clear-cut and consensually approved rules concerning offenses and sanctions regarding human life, sexual relationships, inheritance of women, and other less emphasized areas of dispute, have only limited utility in promoting social harmony and tranquillity.

626 602 593 69 Since there is no formal political or kin organization, the Jívaro apply sanctions against alleged violators of the norms purely by means of informal partisan action. The aggrieved party, together with those relatives willing to support him, takes upon himself the responsibility for punishing the person or persons he believes to be guilty of an offense against him or a close member of his family.

The determination of guilt in a specific case and of the proper sanction for a specific offense is a rather individualistic matter, with a significant degree of variability existing in case histories of even a single type of offense. The emphasis in the present description will be on the general pattern of offenses and sanctions, rather than on deviations from the norms.